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ABSTRACT

It is in relation to a sense of a tangible future that the shaming dimension of Americanization most directly threatens the mobility and integration of the assimilation-aspiring "ethnic American" of South and East European origin or ancestry. Uncertainty about one's future precipitates uncertainty about one's modes of conflict resolution that are bound up with a particular sense of future, and thereby threatens to reawaken the conflicts anew. This "identity crisis" exists for many members of all groups that have labeled themselves as "ethnic," as well as others that have been excluded from this rubric by those who now seek to overdefine themselves. Remarks here are confined to Slovak-Americans, with whom was done one and one-half years of field research in the industrial region of Western Pennsylvania, focusing on a third and fourth generation family analysis. The formulation proposed in this paper would suggest that as a consequence of socialization, individual, and experience in the world beyond the family, ambivalence would still be very much present. As for the problem of marginal status, the current assertations of "ethnic pride" and the beginnings of "ethnic power" movements would certainly suggest that socioeconomic and cultural marginality are not issues of the past. Thus, for the present generation the phenomenology of the ego would be little changed from earlier generations. (Author/JM)

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ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION vs. IDENTITY AS ETHNIC:

Americans of Slovak Descent in Urban-Industrial Western Pennsylvania

by

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ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION VS. IDENTITY AS ETHNIC

The contemporaneity of the "ethnicity" and "identity" issues -- of "ethnicity" becoming a lunged after and vehemently asserted referent of "identity" -- should not obscure the fact that both in their current usages constitute a special case of what is simultaneously a larger (wider) group and intrapsychic process. Thus what "ethnicity" and "identity" are today in certain of these aspects connotes what they mean in a specific psycho-historic context. "Ethnicity" and "identity" as they are currently used in our folk-analyses refer to meanings of group- self-reference and self-image: they are not self-existents. They can only be understood as psycho-social manifestations of or adaptations to a specific inter-group and interpersonal context -- the visible summit of an iceberg, whereby an elucidation of the physical forces involved is needed to explain its visibility.

The wider analytical framework of identity process concerns me here. With Erik Erikson, I hold that it is the ego quality of identity that constitutes the intrapsychic force underlying self-image, self-awareness, and self-esteem. As such the ego quality of identity is largely unconscious -- only its manifestations are conscious. Choices are made on the basis of preferences whose reason remains unconscious.

One thereby chooses and acts and feels "instinctively", not knowing altogether why. For Erikson,

> "The conscious feeling of having a <u>personal identity</u> is based on two simultaneous observations: The immediate perception of one's self-sameness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and continuity. What I propose to call ego identity concerns more than the mere fact of existence, as conveyed by personal identity; it is the ego quality of this existence.
>
> Ego identity, then, in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods and that these methods are effective in safeguarding the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others." (1959: 23)

The synthetic function of the ego defines its existence: initially, to mediate between inner drives and the outer world, and the outer world's later internalization via the superego; and at the summit of epigenetic development, to function as the psyche's central organizer of meaning. Here intrapsychic epigenesis must find confirmation from the community if both drive needs and the return of early conflicts are to be "bound" centripetally and not "split off", centrifigally. As Erikson writes:

> "In the later abandonment or transformation of...narcissism into more mature self-esteem, it is again of decisive importance whether or not the more realistic being can expect an opportunity to employ what he has learned and to acquire a feeling of increased communal meaning...The self-esteem attached to the ego identity is based on the rudiments of skills and social techniques which assume a gradual coincidence of functional pleasure and actual performance of

> ego ideal and social role. The self-esteem attached to the ego identity contains the recognition of a tangible future." (1959: 39-40)

It is in relation to this sense of future that the "shaming dimension" of Americanization most directly threatens the mobility and integration or assimilation-aspiring "ethnic American" of south and east European origin or ancestry. Uncertainty about one's future precipitates uncertainty about one's modes of conflict resolution that are bound up with a particular sense of future, and thereby threatens to reawaken the conflicts anew. From having attended the Baroni Conference on New Directions for Urban America in Washington, D.C. in June, 1971, and from a familiarity with the growing popular literature on the subject of the "ethnic reawakening," I can readily generalize that this "identity crisis" (in Erikson's literal sense- 1959: 88-94) exists for many members of all groups that have labeled themselves as "ethnic," as well as others that have been excluded from this rubric by those who now seek to overdefine themselves. I shall confine my remarks here to Slovak-Americans, with whom I have done 1½ years of field research in the industrial region of Western Pennsylvania, focusing on a 3- and 4-generation family analysis.

In his paper on "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups," Melford Spiro poses a central problem:

> "... since acculturation is a necessary condition for mobility achievement, mobility aspirations lead to an acceleration of acculturative process. But this interpretation, although supported by much evidence, begs the question. Why are mobility aspirations stronger than ethnic identification?" (1955: 1224)

It is my hypothesis that mobility, efforts at integration or assimilation, distantiation from family ties, and the adoption of new

styles of life all constitute American means for resolving the Oedipal and pre-Oedipal conflicts in the child -- of whatever generation, and in fact lurks mightily behind the "economic" explanation of immigration in the first place.*

In this respect, "Americanization" represents simultaneously (as a symbolic condensation) (1) the quest of the idealized mother figure who will never let one down; and (2) the quest of the non-ambivalent father figure who will not interfere with the fulfillment of the Oedipal fantasy and (3) the distantiation from the real mother who is too rejecting and unpredictable, and from the real father who is too tyranical, arbitrary and authoritarian. It is with respect to the first that the issues of loyalty, patriotism, and American nationalism are so deeply and inextricably bound up. On the one hand is the symbolism of the Statue of Liberty, the mother that beckons and greets the "wretched refuse", the uprooted, and ushers them into their new home. On the other hand, is the male symbolism of "Uncle Sam", a comic authority figure, an uncle, not a father -- the United States has no literal father figure in its mythology, only peers, "one of the people." Such a male figures in sharp contrast to the plethora of "fathers" the Slovaks had to contend with on earth and heaven (God, the priest, the estate owner -- the graf --,

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* I am using integration here to mean a continuity of one's meaning within the new or wider social context; by assimilation I mean structural incorporation into (acceptance by) the "host" society.

the host of bosses, and one's own father), and conveyed the image of benevolent authority and a less constricting conscience.

America as a symbolic transformation was capable of evoking such unquestioning devotion only because it represented and represents the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow that is the idealized unambivalent pre-Oedipal mother. Such investment of meaning can only be understood in the overdetermined sense.

And it is only as a consequence of such investment, coupled with the desire to escape parental control, that "Shaming" on the part of the indigenous "Johnny Bulls", Irish, Swedes, and Germans could be so devastating. From the period of the 1880's until World War II, such invidious epithets as "dumb Hunkie", "Greenhorn" and "foreigner" abounded with vigor in the vocabulary of those socio-economically dominant in American life.

By itself, this generalization on the effects of "shaming" is insufficient. All immigrant groups from the great south and east European immigration from 1870-1920 were exposed to the same experience. Yet in terms of relative language retention, maintenance of ethnic parochial schools, the Slovaks and Rusins acculturated most quickly. I would suggest that the explanation lies in the greater intensity of both the "push" (from within the ethnic community out) and the "pull" (of American society) for the Slovaks than for other contemporary

groups. In terms of the "push" I would include (a) the intrapsychic developmental considerations discussed above; (b) the explanation offered by the "relative deprivation theory" (both as fact and percept) according to which those who came from the most impoverished areas would have the least investment in it; and (c) the lack of an ethnic identifier comparable to that of other, recognized groups, -- i.e., "Slavish" (not Slovak), as opposed to Polish, German, Croatian, etc. The "pull" from the American side would mobilize all of the above issues in the service of Americanization. With particular reference to (c), during the course of fieldwork, I frequently heard Slovaks and Rusins relate with poignancy that nobody had ever heard of them, that they were the "orphans of Europe", people "without an identity." Americanization offered the opportunity to resolve this problem -- even as it created others in the process of resolution.

Significantly, for each generation the above considerations of (a), (b), (c) are repeated, recapitulated. They differ only in form. If to have no name at all meant that you were an orphan in Europe, then to be anything but an American meant to be an orphan as well. If a second generation family moved from the enclave near the mill up to "the hill", the third generation will likely move to another neighborhood, or to the suburbs, or will build a modern rather than traditional home in the same neighborhood. Those of the third and fourth

generations whose members are now in their adolescence look upon their ethnic neighborhoods as "dumpy", "poor", "no place to go", etc. just as the earlier generations compared what they had with what they wanted and were dissatisfied. Here the "dumpiness" and "poverty" is as much an attitude toward the facts of life as it is a statement of them. One wants to leave not because of what the house and neighborhood is, but because of what it has come to represent in the emerging identity of the adolescent: coercion, enforced dependency, lack of privacy, and what encompasses these all -- the sense of a dead end, a place without a future, which in adolescent psychology means a life without choice, a premature foreclosure when an openendedness is desperately sought. The actual resolution is another issue -- a compromise between succumbing to the regressive pull and breaking away entirely, or choosing one with utter finality. With each generation the resolution must be made over, because the problems remain, as a consequence of socialization and individuation.

The formal educational system in America heightened the sense of inferiority, at being one of the "dumb breed"; and the gap was widened between the situation to which one was "abandoned" (Sartre 1948: 89) and what one sought to become. Whether it be in citizenship classes, in the American private or parochial school system, or in army traineeship and advancement, one was regarded as a "dumb

Hunkie" by both superiors and peers, even as one sought citizenship in and confirmation by the society that was simultaneously hurling the epithets and idealizing the American dream.

That this issue is contemporary and does not merely belong to the past was forcefully brought home to me in the final weeks of my field research, when I gave a questionnaire at a Catholic Boy's High School in the area where I did my depth research (I also gave the identical questionnaire to a Catholic Girl's High School in the same area). During the 45 minutes the 92 eleventh graders were writing their answers, I spoke individually to the 3 male teachers who were "proctoring" the session, each with about a third of the students in his room. I asked each whether they found any significant differences in grades or interest between students of different ethnic or economic backgrounds. One teacher, a monk of the same order as that which runs the school, replied to me:

> "They're all pretty much the same. As a whole, pretty good students. (Then breaking into a smile) Of course, when we're in the teachers' room we'll say just kiddingly: 'Oh -- they're all a bunch of Pollacks!' But it's just in fun. Nothing meant by it."

The conflict between the ideal of equality and the reality of invidious comparison could not be put more clearly.

Over against the proverbial preferance of Slovak's and Poles for manual and mechanical work, and the equally proverbial aversion to

abstract thinking (immortalized in the Polish and Hunkie jokes that emphasize "dumbness") must be measured the effect of the implicit attitude of many of their teachers toward their students -- that they are really ineducable, because they are "just...," thereby confirming a self-fulfilling prophecy. One cannot learn much from an individual with whom it is difficult to identify in the first place, because the teacher has never made the initial move of identifying with the students.

With reference to the process of Americanization, the data from the junior classes of these 2 schools on those of Slovak background is quite suggestive. One caveat must be kept in mind. First, the girls' school, though now attended by those of many nationalities throughout the district, was until two years ago a Slovak elementary school (grades 1-8), adjacent to the Slovak nationality parish so that the percentage of girls of Slovak background will be higher here than at a school belonging to a territorial parish. Secondly, the boy's high school has a reputation for being primarily college preparatory oriented, so that there would be a selection for those families of all nationalities with relatively high mobility aspirations. In the girl's high school, of the 48 respondents, 24 were of Slovak stock: 6 of Slovak-Slovak marriages; 14 in which the mother was Slovak; and 4 in which the father was Slovak (also indicating the mother's strength

of church affiliation). In the boy's high school 26 of the 92 respondents were of Slovak stock: 3 of Slovak-Slovak marriages; 13 in which the mother was Slovak; and 10 in which the father was Slovak. Two questions were asked with reference to nationality:

Q(28) What does your Nationality Background and the fact that you are an American mean to you?

Q(29) Do you think that nationality is important any more? Explain your answer.

After an initial survey of the answers to the two questions considered separately, it became clear that the response to 28 made little sense until it was put into the context of significance, relative importance, that was called for in 29. Underlying 29 is the question: What is important to you, contrasted with question 28, which explores the specific relation between ethnic background and American and its meaning. With these considerations in mind, the responses may be summarized as follows:

I. One response category per person

	Boys			Girls		
	SS**	SM**	SF**	SS	SM	SF
America +***(only)		1				
America+Nationality+	1	2	1	1	1	2
A+N-***	2	7	6		3	1
Non-Slovak+ Nationality-		2 (German)	2	3		1
Non-Slovak Nationality+, America +		1 (Scandinavian)	1 (German)		2 (Italian)	
America-				1		
Nationality+				1		
America-,Nationality-					7	
No response					1	
II. Responses registered, not persons						
Doesn't matter what nationality one is...	2	12	8	4	10	4
Being free...	1	2	4	1		
Treated as a person, human, equal	1	6	3	3	6	
Contrast/distinction between parents/grandparents and oneself		2	1		2	1
The past vs. now: temporal contrast	2	5	6	2	4	4
Interested in cultural heritage (not pride)	1		2		2	

** SS - marriage in which both parents are Slovak; SM - marriage in which mother is Slovak; SF - marriage in which only the father is Slovak.

*** + means positive response; - means negative response

TOTALS:	Boys		Girls	
America +	21/26	.01	10/24	.42
America -	0	.00	8/24	.33
Nationality, non-spec. +	4/26	.15	5/24	.21
Nationality, non-spec. -	17/26	.65	15/24	.62
Other nationality +	4/26	.15	2/24	.08

The emergent pattern suggests that while the attitudes toward nationality are uniform across sex lines, the attitudes toward America diverge widely. All of the male responses with reference to American and positive, whereas 1/3 of the girls responses were negative and only .42 of the girl's responses were positive. I would correlate this with the differential response to "freedom", a category which the boys employed 7 times, while the girls only made one such response. All 7 male responses that included "freedom" also gave a positive response to America. In all other respects the girls' and boys' responses were relatively uniform, stressing the importance of being regarded as an individual, human, or as equal, regardless of nationality, of having openly personal choice; contrasting one's space-time both generationally and temporally with those of the past, and with the past itself. These can be arranged "hierarchically," the assumption being that the higher the level the more inclusive -- encompassing the more specific

"lower" levels, less frequently chosen or articulated. For both boys and girls, the common denominator is the statement that "it doesn't matter what nationality one is". What does matter is now rather than the past, being a person rather than nationality category. It might be that these latter two response-categories occur in relatively similar frequency because of their isomorphism -- which would suggest that the social status issue is of considerable importance (i.e., not being identified with "dumb Hunkies", "poor people", "foreigners", etc.) Finally, the category of "being free" contrasts with the revulsion against being "trapped", against any kind of coercion including that of the past. These conclusions support Bronfenbrenner's conclusions (1970) about the peer-group oriented nature of American education, although my emphasis is individuative. Peer group solidarity here thrives on distancing mechanisms from the past.

That the boys should be overwhelmingly committed to America, in contrast with the girls, is fully explainable in terms of differential socialization experiences and individuative responses which have been discussed already and which will be futher explored later.

Let me now generalize from this limited sample to the issue of Americanization in general. Here the work of Joshua Fishman has been monumental (1966). In his summary of 1960 census data and estimates

for 3 generations of claimants of non-English mother tongues for Slovaks (1966: 42), the first generation has an estimated 125,000 claimants, the second generation 125,000 claimants, and the third generation 10,000 claimants. In terms of total population, according to the 1960 census, there were 125,000 foreign born Slovaks in the U.S. and 917,000 Slovak-Americans of first and second generation. Dr. Jozef Paučo estimates that the total number of Americans of Slovak origin numbered approximately two million in 1960 (Kirschbaum 1971: 7). From 1940-1960, the reporting Slovak's mother tongue decreased from 484,360 to 260,000, a drop of 46.3% (Fishman 1966: 44). Finally, in terms of numbers of students in private nationality schools, Kloss (1966: 51) reports the following statistics for the Slovaks:

1935	1955	1960
C* 41,000	C 3,000	(Figures not available)
I* 2,000		

This contrasts, for instance, with the Poles (Kloss 1966: 51):

1935	1955	1960
I 12,000	C 40,000	C 10,636
C 280,000		

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* C - Catholic Schools; I - Independent Schools

Although as Fishman emphasizes, linguistic assimilation and cultural assimilation are far from identical, the former can be seen as an important component of the latter if there is little interest on the part of later generations to learn the parental or grandparental mother tongue. If linguistic assimilation be seen as a subset of acculturation (to put it anthropologically), then linguistic assimilation (at least with reference to the Slovaks) should be a good measure of Americanization and its "rate".

With respect to the cultural and structural significance of the nationality school, I would like to take slight issue with a generalized statement of Fishman, with respect to the relative independence of Catholic nationality schools. He writes: "Its schools...are directly maintained by strong forces arising from within...(1961: 334).

He notes "the issue of self-directed separatism versus greater integration in the American community" (p. 334) as a live issue among Catholics. Finally, he recognizes the cultural and standard importance ("numerical superiority" and "superior status") of Irish Catholics and of Irish Catholicism.

From the advent of the "New Immigration" (post-American Civil War), the Irish Catholic "establishment" regarded the nationality parish and school as a compromise (at best) in order to avoid strife, and

considered such arrangements to be temporary, until the process of Irish-Americanization (if I may coin a phrase) could be accomplished -- and finalized through the socialization of the second generation. Hence, the hierarchy never intended for the nationality parish and school to be permanent. Rather, it was a means of consolidating and extending their own domain of power. Where they proceeded "too quickly", sending Irish or German priests to Slovak or Polish parishes, they invariably precipitated dissent and factionalism, and often invited schism -- as, for instance, occasioned the formation of the Polish National Catholic Church and the numerically much smaller Slovak National Catholic Church (which the PNCC, like their Irish predecessors, are now trying to absorb!)

In one Roman Catholic Slovak parish where I spent much time, a priest of French-German ancestry was sent by the Bishop in 1922, and both he and his Irish bishop repeatedly refused the parish's request for a Slovak priest. Both made it clear to the parishioners that no Hunkie was going to tell them how to run the church. This perpetuated a secession of more than 300 members, who founded the first parish of the Slovak National Catholic Church. After a pastorate of nearly 40 years, the French-German priest died, and after a few interim years of being served by Slovak priests, the present priest, a second generation Slovak in his early 70's, was appointed. The present priest, a personal friend of the bishop since college days, and a member of several

important Diocesan decision-making committees, Americanized ("modernized") the church interior and the entire liturgy (in keeping with Diocesan directives) and was deeply involved in planning the consolidation of the parochial schools in the entire area, one of which results was to convert the parish grade school into a consolidated girls high school.

It should be clear that in a case such as this, the statement that the school (or parish) is "maintained by strong forces arising from within" is only partially true, that there are equally strong outside forces that (for instance) now, through the consent of the younger American generation, are "internalized" via the authority of a highly Americanized, Irishized Slovak priest -- who is rewarded, amid the ordeal, by elevation to Monseignor.

Here I might add that the ethnic parochial school was nowhere nearly as effective as imagined in conserving and perpetuating ethnic identification,[1] unless (a) one falls in the trap set long ago by

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[1]The Rossi and Rossi study on"the effects of parochial school education in America" concludes that "despite the historical origins of these (parochial) schools and their present importance in the life of certain ethnic groups, we have been unable to find strong evidence that parochial-school Catholics are very different from other Catholics... It would appear that the solidarity of the Catholic or of the ethnic groups within the Catholic fold maintains itself primarily through others more informal means." (1961: 324)

Fishman, (1961: 324-327) summarizing a vast array of studies of the effect of Catholic schools on ethnic retentionism writes: "though they are the largest and best organized religious cultural (cont. pg. 18)

the Herder-Fichte European ethnological tradition of focusing all of our attention on language teaching -- which was done in the Slovak Catholic and Byzantine Catholic (where the names Slovak or Rusin both apply) schools until the Second World War; or (b) mistakes the outward authority of the church for inner direction and goals. Here, as with the Slovak Fraternal organizations, the multi-functional nature of the parochial school presented a Janus-faced image. Certainly the conservative, traditional perpetuative factor existed: evidenced by the tight superego control wielded by the priest-- which, in an overdetermined manner, was delegated to him by the faithful; and the fact that the church ("Holy Mother") was at least one repository of the idealized maternal figure. On the other hand, the ethnic parochial school (like

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1(Cont.) group in this country, Catholics have influenced American values and institutions far less than their thirty-odd million might have led one to predict. This is probably attributable to two opposing forces: the engulfing appeal of American secular life, on the one hand, and the tenacious in-breeding of Catholic energies through a huge network of educational, social, cultural, and economic institutions paralleling the core society on the other." (1961: 335) In assessing the success of Catholic retentionist efforts, Fishman suggest we pay particular attention to "Recent changes in Catholic voting behavior, the rising rate of Catholic's marrying non-Catholics, the extremely high rate of their attendance at non-Catholic institutions of secondary and higher education..." (1961: 35) He stressed "...the preponderant influence of the home and neighborhood over church and school in establishing interests and attitudes. ...it seems that the child arrives at the Catholic parochial school with already established attitudes and needs in relation to his total environment, and that the school itself is not strong enough to change these attitudes, even when it regards change as desirable." (1961: 335, 337)

the public school) functioned as a socializing agent in the other direction, Americanization: via American history and its place in world cultures, via English in all of its connotations, and so forth. Thus, like the fraternal club, the parochial school was in different ways an agent both of ethnic continuity and of American ideology and behavior.

Images and culture heroes held up as models for identifications consisted not of those in one's ethnic background, but rather were composites, condensations of what one already sought to be. Anglo-Saxon American culture heroes and values provided considerable justification for the distantiation of offspring from parents and ethnic community, building on the same psychological grounds as those pioneer escapees called frontiersmen in Anglo-American life who originally broke from their extended Elizabethan families.

From the earliest days of colonization to the four freedoms of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the sociology of American freedom has consistently formulated in negative terms -- "freedom(s) from" some form of outer coercion. In this respect, Americanization can hardly be called merely acculturation, since, in fact, we are talking about far more than outward behavioral conformity. The traditional acculturation/assimilation model is unworkable here, since the Slovaks and later

generations are using the American environment -- arena -- as a means of resolving intraethnic conflicts, and are not "merely" learning and adapting to American patterns and styles and ideals ex nihilo. The basis (criteria) of selection and the impetus for selection of American patterns, styles, and ideals lies in their capacity to resolve fundamental Oedipal and pre-Oedipal conflicts generated from traditional Slovak life.*

It is perhaps a paradox that the Slovaks and Rusins, having been one of the most submissive peasantries of Europe -- significantly one arch-Rusin Byzantine Catholic priest spoke proudly of his people as did their Austro-Hungarian overlords, as "gens fidelissimo" -- speak of themselves, and have behavior patterns and values that would mark them, as highly independent. Having one's own home -- whether in the Slovak village or in an American city -- is a crucial means of being independent of one's children even when one is far up in years. I have both heard and heard of "stubborn" (their term) refusals by aging parents to come live with one or any of their children. And even if and when they do come to live with one of the children, they are constantly about their own business, often seemingly avoiding their children as a means of asserting their independence.

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*Philip Slater has recently explored the role of the Oedipal theme in American life in general (1970) and his analysis would suggest that it plays a central part in immigration, Americanization and mobility.

Illness behavior carries with it a massive denial of dependency on anyone, even as it seeks to evoke pity and guilt, and bind one in eternal gratitude for everything done for one's welfare. Here, as a consequence of early childhood experience in differential socialization, the male tends to be more stoic than the female, who is much more vocal and prolix in her complaints and in her passive-aggressive expression of exhaustion through voice, muscle tonus (or lack of it), gait, and sigh.

Finally, the ethos of perpetual work and finding new work to do lest an unoccupied moment occur fulfills the need to maintain a safe distance from all interpersonal involvement, and constitutes still another "culturally constituted defense mechanism" in the service of preserving independence in the sense of "freedom from..."

These previous three examples would suggest -- through the metaphor of "theme and variations" -- the pervasiveness with which American life provides the "means" toward Slovak "ends." Here, private ownership of property, the spatial mobility out of the ethnic enclave, the persistence in work in spite of illness -- the wilful "fighting" an illness rather than succumbing to it --, and the ethos of work all constitute variations on the theme of insistent independence as a defense against dependency needs.

Here, however, we must distinguish -- and then show the interrelations between -- two aspects of ethnic identity, for such patterns

as these just described persist long after (generations, after, I would suggest) one has ceased calling oneself Slovak or Rusin. Such patterns as these I would speak of an unconscious fragments -- perhaps the unconscious core -- of personal identity that are ethnically rooted. I contrast this so-called "sub-cultural" domain of ethnic identity with "ethnic identification", the self-labeling of oneself as Slovak, which I would suggest is bound up in the social status issue. In this latter context I am reminded of a comment made by my colleague Robert Hill (personal communication) that the immigrant Poles of peasant stock had to wait until they reached America before they discovered they were Poles -- when a label was attached to them, and that <u>what category</u> they were made a difference. The point is that one had first to become a "Pollack", "Hunkie", or "Wop" (und so weiter) in another's eyes before one became self-consciously, and defensively, "ethnic", whether in terms of Wilsonian national "self-determination," which tapped into an American ethnic sore spot; or in terms of the current ethnic pride and power movements that reverse stereotyping by creating a new positive stereotype for one's own and a negative one for others -- particularly the WASPS, who can do no good, and are caricatured in the same way they practiced the art when the new immigration first started. Psychodynamically "shame" and "pride" are not opposites. Rather, "pride" in the militant, assertive sense, is a defensive maneuver to reverse, overcompensate for, the pervasive sense of shame.

As such, it constitutes an utterly final solution to the condition of shame. The British psychoanalyst Charles Rycroft writes:

> "...shame is an emotion deriving from a conflict about disillusion in respect of either (a) one's idealized conception of oneself, or (b) one's illusion of primary identification with others, or (c) one's idealized objects. This conflict may be dealt with either by further denial leading to pride and reinforcement of narcissism or by increased insight leading to self-respecting humility and a heightened sense of identity." (1960: 86)

This formulation and the vicious circle in which "shame" and "pride" participate, is all the more plausible if we accept as true the statement that when the immigrant generations came to America, their "Polischkeit" or "Slovakkeit" was an internal ego core of identity (in the first sense above) rather than an external conscious self-image issue; and that later, through the transactional experience with "Americans", this latter element became an issue and became internalized, thereby interacting with the former to produce a new identity Gestalt based on an aversion to Slovak elements that had earlier been positive, neutral, or merely unconscious in the first place. Elements of a formerly positive identity became referents of a negative identity -- that which one sought <u>not</u> to be. What, otherwise, could be the meaning of the following interview frequent, with a 23 year old biology senior of "pure" Slovak stock, the third generation in America:

Q: What do you like least about your father? "The only objection that comes to mind (Pause) -- When we are eating a chicken dinner, he'll be chomping on the food. Being noisy about it." Typically, the Slovak-American mother has socialized her children -- with a vengence -- to "eat nicely."

It should be noted that the primary agent of Americanization within the Slovak family is the mother. While the father traditionally in Europe, and until only recently in America as well, has customarily been tied -- by choice -- to the cycle of work -- club -- eat -- sleep -- whether the work is in the fields or the mill, and whether the club is the village tavern or the Fraternal Society, American Legion, War Veterans, Elks or Eagles --, the woman has had a much wider experience of the wider society through neighborhood gossiping, the daily collection of numbers slips, and the unending cycle of shopping. All of which provides further fuel for her increasing fire of dissatisfaction, via the "relative deprivation" model. Paradoxically, although "the woman is the home," as one young Slovak-American homemaker in her 30's put it, she was out of the house far more frequently than was the man outside of his narrow cycle of activities.

Beyond these "reality" issues was the woman's deep desire to escape the oppressiveness of her condition, of being saddled with "all these children." The one means of escape was vicarious: to find her

exit through her children's (successful) exit -- though not from her. It was she who invariably encouraged the children -- particularly the sons -- to get an education while the father/husband would have sent them to the mill in their early teens, because "it was time he started earning a living for himself. I've supported him long enough." This was a small part of the Americanization issue. Invariably, the woman spoke much better English than did her husband, who could hardly care to learn English. Frequently, it was she who insisted that her children teach her English after their lessons in school, while the husband continued to address his wife in Slovak, and withdrew to the club where he would be out of reach of her domination.

These considerations would suggest that, as in Europe, the male becomes oriented away from the house -- and his mobility is maternally encouraged through education -- while the female becomes oriented toward the home in spite of her educational experiences, thereby providing role continuity with the European base line, as well as exacerbating dissatisfaction with it. There is another side to it as well that functions as impetus for all that "mobility" connotes: differential maternal response to male and female children, and the greater severity of the socialization experience for the first children -- both male and female -- in comparison with those remaining down to the "baby of the family." In general, looking both within and between generations, both in Europe and America, female solidarity and male

solidarity is contrasted with female rejection and ridicule of males -- whether as fathers, uncles, husbands, brothers, sons, or cousins -- and the compensatory reciprocal rejection of females by males.

Furthermore, a father's behavior toward a son -- especially the eldest or oldest son(s) -- is much more severe and punitive than toward his daughter or younger sons. So that, as in one family, the mother would be jabbing her broom beneath the bed to force the eldest son out of hiding, and the father on another occasion would break this son's sled over his back for coming home from winter fun four minutes late. With the "eldest" daughter(s) -- defined not so much by age as by the number of younger unmarried siblings around -- the severity of socialization is not in reference to violence but in reference to the necessity to subordinate all of one's wishes to the necessities of being a junior mother to the family -- which engenders a resentment that is usually displaced and converted via the mechanism of reaction formation into an overconcern and a compensatory giving-ness.

It would be expected that the greatest impetus for social mobility affording a resolution and Oedipal and pre-Oedipal conflict, lies with the elder children. It is these who "marry out" the most distantly, move away the furthest from "home", take on occupations most removed from traditional ones, live and dress in the most conspicuously American styles, and develop anxiety diagnostic "symptoms." Here again, the conflict resolution cogwheels with the basic formulation of American

freedom -- "freedoms from". What must be recognized, however, is that this was neither the intent nor the direction of socialization. But rather, it was one component the individuative-adaptive response to the problems and conflicts that socialization produced. Anthropology has in certain respects neglected psychodynamic adaptation in favor of a Hullian S-R approach to socialization that can in no way deal with this type of "problem-solving behavior."

One vital implication of the form of conflict resolution is that all affirmations are built upon a fundamental negation of one's intolerable past, and against a regressive pull that would produce guilt for having abandoned or wishing to abandon those who originally could only give (i.e., remorse for willfulness). The more vigorous the effort to escape this cumulative sense of guilt, the more subversive will be that past through the ahistoric return of the repressed.

The original immigrant progenitors may have escaped the strictness and rigidity of village and home only to impose it on their children in the New World with vengeance -- "Do as I say" (obedience to father, priest; self-control, etc.) "and not as I do" (heavy drinking, gambling, other women, rebellion against his sense of restriction). The children, in turn, as parents, broke resolutely with their own parents, and reared their own children with the ambivalence of permissiveness and arbitrariness -- and now decry the lack

of 'law and order.' With each generation, the American ideology of freedom weakened and threatened the traditionally rigid ego structure, and drastically altered the external support for intrapsychic forces. The second generation parent-as-child experienced both the uncompromisingness of the home and the inviting openness of the American society-as-ideal, and it became precisely the contradictariness of the two directions that paralyzed them as parents in communicating consistent messages to their children. With each generation, adolescent rebellion is followed by some form of 'return' during the middling years -- and resolution attempted through the socialization of the next generation.

A profound ambivalence, then, marks the Slovak and Slovak-American's sense of self and relation to primary objects and is transferred to all later meaningful relationships -- including the anthropologist. Since the quest after independence is grounded in -- in the form of reaction against -- the pervasively socialized experience of dependence, the separation anxiety that is aroused upon any assertiveness of will must of necessity evoke guilt and compensatory penitance for what one dared to do or think of doing. Having reared their children "permissively," in the image of their newly independent selves, they look with horror -- 20, 30 and 40 years later -- at the willful, disobedient monsters they have produced. Ultimately, the issue of 'permissiveness' is a ploy: it obscures the fact that, regardless of

childrearing ideology, each generation of parents communicated to their children their profound ambivalence toward any type of submission to authority or dependency relationship.

The first and second generation's assertion of an ambivalently founded independence was productive of the phenomenal overcompensatory loyalty behavior during the two World Wars, Korea, and in the Viet Nam war. Having devoted their lives to nothing but work, they look with disgust at Blacks and Whites on perpetual Welfare rolls, and wax vehemently at Hippies cursing the flag, burning their draft cards, and living loosely without a care in the world. Having committed themselves so utterly to America -- or rather, to its significance for them -- they look with vengeful abhorrence at all that would undermine their precarious existence.

The confluence of these themes was made especially clear by a Slovak-born male in his mid-70's, who came to America with his parents when he was a youngster, lost his first wife in the influenza epidemic of 1918, and said that was the last day he ever would spend in the mill. "What was the use? All that saving -- and then to have to spend it all on hospitals, and she died on me!" After that, he opted out of the 'legitimate' world of work, and went into the 'underworld,' using gambling business as one possible channel to success outside the real world. He sees himself as a decent, respectable man, and cuts a

dignified, constantly on-the-move figure of one who is vigorously active in his present union work, a position he rose to 30 years ago through owning a tavern with backroom accessories. He was and is well known to all the local public figures -- he first had to contend with them, and later they with him. Virtually his entire home decor is Americana: American flags (framed and flying from poles), statuary of pilgrims and Indians, a placque of President Kennedy enveloped with a Rosary, bronze eagles, etc. He keeps a standard size flag outside of his apartment in the hall, and flies it outside the building on the main street every day. Attached to his automobile antenna is a small flag. Being my neighbor where I lived, I came to know him very well. He fumed vehemently about the spoiled, permissive kids of today, who have no respect for the law or this country, their loose morals, and so forth. His third wife, a strict woman of English-Irish ancestry, interrupted him to remind him that he too had reared his children permissively, and literally moved out of their house when their activities became to wild for him and beyond his control. He scowled at the remark. Referring to the insulting behavior of the youth of today, he said sharply: "You don't bite the hand that feeds you! They don't appreciate all this country has given us. They'll <u>never</u> know how much! Like the saying goes: If you don't like it, leave it. Get the hell out."

Beneath such a statement as this, in addition to the obvious oral imagery, is the paradox that the very object with which they so utterly identified themselves and idealized as the source of all good (which, as in all idealizations, can do no ill) contains elements which reject them. The effects of shaming are most devastating when those who shame you are precisely those with whom you have strongly identified yourself -- your hope, and your future. From this is generated the need to prove how much like them you are -- for which the mechanism of distantiation from your cultural background provides a relentless dynamism.

The age of the devastating epithets -- 'dumb Hunkie' and the like -- is over. That ended, so we would like to believe, with the massive efforts at unionization in the mid-1930's and with the experience of World War II, that put men of all persuasions and ethnic backgrounds together in a joint venture, and allowed men to break out of their ethnic communities and opt <u>institutionally</u> (the union, the army, etc.) for a wider confirmed identity. To a certain degree, this did happen.

But for many, integration with American life did not occur. A second generation Slovak-American male had considerable difficulty during his army experience in the South. He was still regarded as a foreigner. And within the army itself, he complained that in spite of his seniority and training, he was passed up for rather ordinary promotions -- this complaint being a contemporary one. Another Slovak-

American male, third generation in his late 40's, remarked that he is the first full time Roman Catholic -- let alone Slovak -- medical personnel on the staff of a vast national industrial complex. Finally, this -- and not the turn of the century -- is the age of the Polish joke, the Italian joke, when those in established positions, threatened by new ethnic demands, respond by dismissing the very claims to ability of their challengers and pretenders.

Having become American along with their own pathways of conflict resolution, many now begin to wonder if indeed they have made it at all. The current socio-economic squeeze -- increased taxation, inflation, etc. -- constitutes an outer 'straw' that threatened to break the internal 'camel's back': conflicts one thought were resolved threaten to erupt from their currently repressed form. This, and not merely external reality, is what has generated the obsession with security of house and neighborhood, law and order, and the home arsenals awaiting to 'shoot anything that moves.' It is not the Blacks and Hippies of the outer world that most threaten them -- but the 'inner' Blacks and Hippies against which their entire ego structure is a massive defense, which the 'real' ones are acting out.

As parents, fearful that their ego ideal -- encompassing hard work as an end in itself, super-cleanliness, and devotion to America -- will not be lived up to in their children, and seeing the fear confirmed in their rebellious children, the parents fear the children will fail

precisely where they are afraid they have failed -- or secretly wish to fail. The 'symptomatic' nature of this fear lies precisely in the fact that they are afraid the children will take the path of the negation of the ego ideal -- which they only wish they could have taken, or originally took, only to return in later life. The parental inclination toward alcohol, coupled with the current children's inclination toward drug culture, perhaps signifies each generation's ambivalence about its commitment toward either the ego ideal or its negation, even as it fulfils more primitive oral dependent cravings.*

Let me speculate further on the drug theme, because it can be used as an important index of a concern about the future. This is an issue I can hardly document, but only be suggestive, because it occurred in frequent gossip within a traditional Slovak-Hungarian ethnic neighborhood, in the alleged association between many youth in this neighborhood and drug culture, or at least experimentation. The extent of its usage I do not know, but the neighborhood does have several hang-outs that adolescents frequent with their black leather jackets and motor cycle apparel. If the allegations are true, it would suggest the existence of a pervasive doubt about the future, about what the real world has to offer, about what strengths they have to bring to it, and

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* This paragraph was developed in consequence of a consultation with Dr. Charlotte Babcock.

a questioning of the worthwhileness of it all (encompassed by Erikson's term: identity diffusion) -- to which they respond by experimenting with agents of artificial euphoria, regressing to an oral dependent fixation as solution.

Rather than prematurely commit themselves to a goal of whose certainty they are unsure, they firmly commit themselves to no commitment at all, estranged from and defending themselves against the coerciveness and lure of either past or future. As with their parents in their adolescence, they have broken with their past by deliberate self-uprooting. Only, with this later generation, the future does not look as promising as it did to their parents, and seems unworthy of overwhelming commitment. In contrast with the earlier generations, to many of the present generation the outer means do not seem available for the ritualized resolution of the individuated ends rooted in conflict. The ancient problems remain, but the traditional means of resolution are not as prevalent. Unable to 'bind' the conflict in culturally channeled pathways (via the mechanism of displacement), the conflict seeks resolution through regression to alcohol or drug dependency (and now maintain distance from their conflicts through projection: see Erikson's analysis of the Sioux for the identical process - 1963: 161-165).

For those who can succeed, and who believe they can succeed, the pathway of conflict resolution remains identical with the past -- only

the content changes. One rejects the ethnic neighborhood as being 'dumpy' and 'poor,' and idealizes life in the suburbs or 'living out in the country,' just as one's ancestors rejected the Slovak village and idealized America. Hardly disillusioned, they expect the promise of American openness, expansiveness, and success to be fulfilled for themselves, and are as commited to America as are their parents and more remote elders.

Where, then, does the "new ethnicity", "ethnic pride", and "ethnic power" enter the picture? Let me first emphasize that this issue is not a matter of generation, for I have talked with proponents of this "emerging movement" ranging from the first generation down to the third. I have earlier emphasized that considerable impetus for the male immigration to America lay in a radical adolescent style resolution of Oedipal and pre-Oedipal conflicts, in the form of a simultaneous "search for" and a "freedom from." Yet their very pattern of socializing the next generation signified an equally radical return to a system of values and relationships from which they originally sought escape and refuge. The "new ethnicity" is in one sense a similar kind of "return", as a means of resolving early conflicts that were reawakened by a growing disillusionment with the possibility of America-as-idealized object being able to serve as a focus for resolution.

It is my axiom that disillusionment with the believability of the American dream as an actuality is a precondition to the withdrawal of cathexis from "America" and a regressive assertion of "ethnic pride."* Psychodynamically, I hold that both constitute idealizations that derive their impetus from the earliest conflict of what Erikson has called "basic trust" vs. "mistrust", and is the individuative consequence of the ego defensive response to separation anxiety: and that they receive later impetus through the Oedipal transition whereby the child must identify with the parent or socially designated other object of the same sex and renounce the female world. Here becomes evident the confluence of outer reality and inner actuality that explains the fact that the original immigration to America was male, the much greater commitment of the male than female to America, the ontogenetic source of differential male/female quality and intensity of disillusionment, and the fact that the emergent leaders and spokesmen are for the most part males. One simultaneously atones for having abandoned the original mother (= Slovakness) and for having renounced the original father.

Yet it should be remembered that this nativism is far from a return to the original (in form or substance). Because one is so commited to the values of American life (freedom from...), one cannot withdraw

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* As an Italo-American at the Baroni Conference in Washington, D.C. put it: "What has driven us to ethnicity is rejection."

and literally return to that from which one fled. Rather, a compromise is made: the nativism takes the form of idealization. Surely, as the intrapsychic logic goes, one would not want to return to one's real father or mother. So one idealizes, venerates instead.

An eldest son, in his early 50's, himself an immigrant at age 9 with his father and mother and two younger siblings in 1928, very self-consciously Americanized himself in all externals. He married a Protestant English woman who is raising their son in the Presbyterian church. Their home he calls "colonial," and although not in that style, it is nevertheless typical middle class American in a mixed lower middle class suburb -- one would not know of his Slovak origin from any appearance (save in the remote fastness of his closet, where he has been collecting written materials for the past decade). Living only a short walk from his father's home, he has looked out for his father's welfare -- and his siblings', renouncing college education in order to provide for theirs -- rebelling against it inwardly all along, presently having wholly sacrificed his life for others. When he speaks with his father, he is impatient, cutting him short and is embarrassed at his "bad" English (constantly translating his father's English into "good" English), while I can clearly understand everything he says (and the father knows it). Yet in the past few years, he has set about compulsively to assure that posterity will know about his father -- whom he now idealizes even as he resents him. Commercial

photographer. have been enlisted to canvas his father's home and immense "garden" (10 acres of a hillside). I have taken over 70 slides for him. He has requested to be given a copy of several taped interviews the three of us made. He works indefatigably on the Pittsburgh scene and nationally toward the recognition of the contributions of ethnic groups toward American life, even as he is embittered at everything Anglo-Saxon and whispers to me about it when his wife is present. He emphasizes pride, yet his muscle tonus, unsteady posture, stumbling and start-and-stop speech, and hesitating manner all convey the underlying embarrassment against which this new ideology functions as an overcompensating fortress.

An emerging literary spokesman, now in his 30's, is Michael Novak, a third generation Slovak-American from the Pittsburgh area, who seems to have traveled a similar route. Theologian and philosopher, he has recently rebounded from existentialism and enlightenment rationalism,* and has returned in prodigal son fashion to a selective idealization of the world he long ago abandoned for the suburbs, where he now lives, with a wife of non-Slovak ancestry. In his speeches and writings, one hears little of the mother or father who urged him to acculturate and toward

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* Some of his recent writings include: "The Enlightenment is Dead" (1971a), "The Price of Being Americanized" (1971b), and "White Ethnic" (1971c). Among his books are The Experience of Nothingness, Belief and Unbelief, The Open Church, and A Theology for Radical Politics.

whom he is silently ambivalent. Rather, veneration is reserved for his "crotchety old grandfather,"* and for an elder uncle who, in a drunken rage, once threatened to "lay his dick on the porch rail and wash the whole damn street with steaming piss..." (1971: 45). Negating "universal reason," he seeks to replace it with "imagination and the diversity of human stories." (1971:50) Having "made it" in the established academic circles, he yet remains an outsider even when there are none to make an outsider of him. The conversion experience he expresses intellectually is far from a mere shrinking from the experience of "existential emptiness" -- rather it is an overdetermined product of having earlier renounced the controls and bounds from which he sought escape and which now come back to haunt him when he has succeeded only too well. The "psychological distance" between traditional Slovakness and existential freedom -- with its concomitant denial of any determinism or authority but the self -- should be obvious. Cultural modalities are selected in the service of intrapsychic conflict resolution. Underlying his conversion and proselytization is a guilt traceable to the abortive Oedipal resolution, and the finding of a refuge in the idealized pre-Oedipal mother, "Slovakness".

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* From a speech delivered June 7, 1971, "The Blue Angle: The New American Dream," in a Workshop on Ethnic and Working Class Priorities: New Directions for Urban America, sponsored by the Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, The Catholic University of America.

To those of the younger generation who opt for this pathway of conflict resolution, they do not usually select a parent as object of such idealization. Where a model of absolute strength and certainty is sought as a fortress against one's own sense of weakness and insecurity, the father or mother (usually of the second generation) will hardly do. Any object of such idealization must at least appear to be beyond all insecurity and contradiction. An older aunt or uncle, or grandparent, often qualifies.

During a phone conversation with the Irish-American wife of a second generation Slovak-American whose peripatetic and ever-busy father lives with them, she pointed out to me that, following my interview with the three of them, she asked her youngest daughter -- now in high school -- what she would call herself, Slovak or American:

> "I really got a shock! She said in a real strong voice: 'Slovak! Because I'm <u>proud</u> I'm a <u>Slovak</u>. I just <u>feel</u> it.' I think it's because Pap's living here. In school Michelle is all big guns over Czechoslovakia, working on projects. Then I asked her: 'If you're Slovak, then what's your Daddy?' First she stammered around, not sure how to answer, and finally she said" 'I would say he's American.' So there you have it. You figure it out!"

This is clearly an Oedipal resolution -- but with a significant twist. The girl's dominated father, intentionally not around the house much (avoiding both father and wife), choosing to find his modicum of assertiveness by going out hunting frequently, was an object with which

the girl could only ambivalently identify. The paternal grandfather, a strongly resolute man, offered at least the image of a consistent, strong, masterful male figure who knew who he was and what he was about. Furthermore, the girl is clearly social morbility-oriented, college oriented, and so forth. Thus her Oedipal resolution arms her with pride, even as she opts for distantiation from a family of which she is hardly proud.

The difference between the two men, father and son, became clearest to me when I asked if I might take some photographs of their very American home and of themselves. The elder man, in his late 70's, carefully primmed himself for it, combing his hair, straightening and tucking in his shirt, and putting his hat on at exactly the right angle. The son made no 'preparations,' and merely 'went along with it,' wearing a bored look on his face throughout. Standing near one another, first in the back yard, then on the front porch, the father stood straight and proud (though much shorter than his son), looking directly at me -- literally posing. The son, in contrast, was clearly 'not there.' His muscle tonus was lax; he never looked directly at me or the camera. On the porch, he leaned sideways on one column and folded his arms, with a distant, preoccupied, bored look, looking anywhere about except in my direction -- while his father stood virtually motionless, poised with head high, looking straight at the camera. The two men never stood together -- i.e., facing me from the same

position. Whatever position the father took, the son responded by changing his own position slightly, so that the two never looked toward me with the same vantage -- suggesting a spatialization of the son's fundamental negation of and ritualized dis-congruence with any 'position' taken by his father.

Within the present 'generation' -- and here I refer, as my informants have directed me, to all those under thirty (the era of World War II and after) -- there is an extremely broad range of identifications along the ethnic-American-personal spectrum. Joshua Fishman has massively documented that differences in generational attitudes toward ethnic background cannot be measured along a single unilinear continuum: i.e., that ethnicity is not a matter of more or less, but encompasses different ways of relating to one's sense of the past, that the difference is in mode, not merely degree (1966: 344). Yet even within a single generation there appear vast differences. While my findings and Fishman's coincide for the 'fathers' and 'sons', they diverge vastly with respect to the 'grandsons,' who, according to his description, can 'study' and selectively 'appreciate' their ethnic heritage because there remained in this generation no trace of ambivalence which was due to the experience of marginal status (1966: 351).

The formulation I have proposed in this paper would suggest that as a consequence of socialization, individuation, and experience in the

world beyond the family, ambivalence would still be very much present. As for the problem of marginal status, the current assertions of 'ethnic pride' and the beginnings of 'ethnic power' movements would certainly suggest that socio-economic and cultural marginality are not issues of the past. For the present generation, ethnicity is not merely a neutrally positive issue in the sense of selective identification and appreciation (as, for instance, of traditional ethnic foods). Distantiation from parental contradiction, arbitrariness, restrictiveness, protectiveness, dependency, and ambivalence still plays a vital role as a mechanism in Americanization, individuation, and even underlies the choice of a Slovak progenitor as object of identification above one's fallible parents.

As a product of these inter- and intra-generational considerations, I would conclude that for the present generation the phenomenology of the ego would be little changed from earlier generations, when both the sense of past and future were similarly fraught with inner ambivalence and outer uncertainty.

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